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of immigrants from neighbouring tribes have been adopted by a clan and subjected to the general rule of clan exogamy, i.e. the territorial bond has taken the place of the belief in a common descent, or rather local groups have in some cases become identified with kinship groups. In this respect the Katab present a contrast to their neighbours, the Morwa and Kagoro, among whom there is no bar to intermarriage between the aboriginal inhabitants and immigrant members of other tribes.

The territorial grouping of the Katab clans corresponds generally, but not absolutely, with the clan grouping. For though the Minyam and Aku clans each occupy in the main their own territory, the Agbat clan is split in two, the Kwak sub-section being separated from the Nje and Kpaisa sub-sections by the intervening clan of Minyam. But, according to tradition, the local grouping in former times coincided with the social. The small clan of Shokwa lives mixed up with the Kwak sub-section of the Agbat clan. Moreover, families or individuals of one clan may be found living in villages of another clan, and where this happens the usual rules of clan exogamy apply.

It is not uncommon, for example, for a man to take up residence in his mother's village, and in such a case he would be eligible to marry any girl in that village (provided she was not too closely related to his mother's relatives).

History of the Clans.—The Katab appear to have come into their present habitat from the direction of Karigi, some fifty miles due north of Zangon Katab, in order to remove themselves further from the slave-raiding expeditions sent out from Zaria. Their traditions suggest that they arrived in small parties, each of which became the starting point of a comparatively large social group which ultimately displaced the Chawai, Kachichere, and Rumada, the former inhabitants of the district. There are grounds for believing that neither of the small clans of Shokwa and Aku belonged to the main body of the Katab immigrants, and it is even asserted that the Shokwa were not immigrants at all but had always lived in their present settlement. For this reason, perhaps, Shokwa are the rain-makers for the tribe, and it is said that Shokwa and his wife, the founders of the clan, rose miraculously out of the Kaduna river. The Aku are said to have sprung out of the ground from the hoofmark made by

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587 and both the junior and senior levirate are practised. A man may, in addition to his brother's widow, inherit the widow of his father's brother's son. But the inheritance of a maternal uncle's widows is not permissible among the Katab (though it is among their Gwari neighbours). It should be noted in connection with inheritance that secondary wives are heritable equally with primary wives, and that heritors are entitled to endeavour to recover the runaway wives of the person from whom they inherit without making payments to the women's parents.

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Marriage and Social Groupings.—The fundamental feature in the social organization of the tribes is that no man may contract any form of marriage with any woman of his own clan. Descent is reckoned patrilineally. No man, therefore, may marry by purchase or elope with a woman whose father belongs to the same clan as himself. Thus a male of the Fakan sub-clan may not marry a female of the Fakan sub-clan, nor yet a female of the Aswen sub-clan, as Fakan and Aswen are moieties of the Minyam clan. In this connection it is important to remember that groups of immigrants have in some cases been adopted into a clan, and where this has happened the exogamous rule is applicable. No Fakan, for example, may marry a girl of the village of Magamiya, for the people of Magamiya, though belonging to a different tribe (viz. Ikulu), have been adopted by the Aswen sub-clan, and are therefore reckoned by the Fakan as fellow clansmen (i.e. as Minyam).

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We have thus a well-developed system of clan exogamy among the Katab which is worthy of note; for it would seem that in the majority of Nigerian tribes marriage is regulated by consanguinity considerations rather than by the clan mechanism. Consanguinity is, of course, a bar to marriage among the Katab, for not only is intermarriage with the father's kin totally prohibited (by the clan organization), but inter-marriage with the social group of the mother is also prohibited to this extent that a man, though he may marry into his mother's clan, must avoid marriage with close blood relatives of his mother. All cousin marriages are taboo.

582 583 We now come to the consideration of the rules governing the contraction of sub-marriages. We may begin by stating that no man may elope with (*a*) a married woman who is a member of his own clan or closely related to his mother, (*b*) the wife of

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a member of the household from whom he has already obtained a primary wife, (*c*) the wife of a member of his own kindred or local group. (*a*) has already been dealt with. The objection to (*b*) is obvious and would be summed up by the Katab in the statement that you cannot marry a girl and then marry her "mother" too. As regards (*c*) the prohibition against elopement with the wife of a member of one's local group appears to be dependent on the principle that it is inadvisable to make an enemy of one's next-door neighbour. For the same reason, no doubt, elopement with the wife of a member of one's own kindred is prohibited, a rule which suggests that if marriage by capture was the original form of marriage, exogamy may have been the outcome of the desire to avoid local conflict, and may have had nothing to do with such feelings as the fear of consanguinity or a dislike of mating with women with whom one lives in daily contact. The practice of wife-stealing, coexistent with the practice of consanguineous marriages, would certainly create an impossible position in any society.

The rule that no one may elope with the wife of a member of his own kindred or local group has its counterpart in the prohibition of elopement marriages between the two largest clans, viz. Minyam and Agbat. That is to say, a Minyam man may not contract a sub-marriage with the wife of an Agbat man and vice versa, even although by contracting such a marriage he does not infringe the rule of clan exogamy. But a Minyam or Agbat man may contract a sub-marriage with the wife of a member of the Aku or Shokwa clans, provided he does not infringe the rule of clan exogamy. Members of the Minyam and Agbat clans state that the reason why they abstain from eloping with each others' wives is that "a man may not marry his mother-in-law", which is merely another way of stating that it is improper to steal wives from a community whose daughters you are permitted to marry. But if this is so, why do Minyam and Agbat both steal the daughters and elope with the wives of the Aku and Shokwa clans (and also of neighbouring tribes)? The answer given is that the Aku and Shokwa clans are responsible, and that it is time that these two clans confined their wife-stealing energies to sub-divisions of their own clans (which may be a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* argument). Aku and Shokwa state that they are not yet sufficiently numerous to

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582 583 614 abandon the practice of eloping with wives of other clans, and this would appear to be a genuine explanation, for if a clan has, like Shokwa, no subdivision larger than two localized kindreds, between whom wife-stealing would be impossible, then the members are compelled to seek secondary wives outside the limits of the clan. The real reason why Minyam and Agbat abstain from eloping with each other's wives is that the majority of the primary wives of Minyam men are Agbat women and vice versa.[1] If, therefore, a Minyam man were to elope with the wife of an Agbat man he would be eloping with a member of his own clan. There would, however, be no theoretical reason why a Minyam man should not elope with the wife of an Agbat man, provided she did not belong to the Minyam clan. The prohibition possibly dates back to a time when Minyam and Agbat formed two exogamous divisions of a single clan, and all the wives of Minyam men were Agbat women and vice versa.

582 583 613 The next point to observe is that, although extra-clan elopements are forbidden to Minyam and Agbat,[2] inter-clan elopements are the normal rule between the subsections of these clans, e.g. in the Agbat clan, which consists of the subclans Kwak, Kpaisa, and Nje, a man of Kwak may steal the wife of a man of Kpaisa, and a man of Kpaisa may steal the wife of a man of Nje, and so on. This is indeed so much the normal procedure that a member of one sub-clan refers to a member of another as his *nungvan* or "wife-abductor". Similarly in the Minyam clan, which has two sub-clans, viz. Fakan and Aswen, a Fakan man may not marry an Aswen girl, but he may contract a sub-marriage with the wife of an Aswen man. If, however, a member of one sub-clan goes to reside in the village of another sub-clan of his own clan the normal rules permitting marriages by elopement are in abeyance. To take an example, if an Aswen man of the Minyam clan goes to reside at a Fakan village (Minyam clan) he is not entitled to elope with the wife of anyone in that village. As already observed, elopement marriages create a feeling of hostility, and it is considered undesirable that fighting should take place within the local group. It is possible that the whole system of clan exogamy is the outcome of the desire to

[1] A Minyam man need not necessarily marry an Agbat girl as a primary wife, and vice versa. He may marry a girl of the Aku or Shokwa clan, or of some other tribe.

[2] Aku and Shokwa being small clans practise extra-clan elopements.

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avoid hostility between neighbouring groups. The residents of one group elope with or abduct the wives of residents of a neighbouring group, and vice versa. Hostility results, and in time the group agrees to abandon wife-stealing,[1] and to exchange daughters instead. A man is thus debarred from marrying the daughters of his own community, as they are required for the neighbouring community. This process becomes extended to other communities, and all the communities become in time merged into a single exogamous clan. We can see this process at work among the Katab and neighbouring tribes. It may be objected that among the Katab we have a clear example of a reverse process, for within the clan we have sub-clans which elope with each others' wives. But the answer would appear to be that the sub-clans are in process of becoming clans, and will eventually abandon the stealing of wives from each other. There was clear evidence of this tendency in the statement made by several men of the Nje sub-clan that they would prefer to give up the practice of eloping with the wives of the men of Kpaisa and marry their daughters instead, and that they were only prevented from carrying this suggestion into practice by the old men of the two sub-clans concerned, who would, of course, regard the proposal as incestuous.

There is a further factor which tends to induce groups which practise elopement marriages to give up the practice, and that is the frequent uncertainty as to the paternity of a child born to a runaway wife. The Katab have numerous rules for meeting this difficulty (as will be seen later), but a margin of uncertainty still remains, and it may well be on this account that a clan organization tends to spring into existence, or, where it is already in existence, that sections of a clan each tend to become separate clans.

When we come to the sub-divisions of the sub-clan we find considerable variations, elopement marriages being sometimes permissible and sometimes not. Thus in the Aswen sub-clan, which consists of the following groups, each occupying its own territory, (*a*) Alan-Amurum, (*b*) Yagofo, (*c*) Awai, (*d*) Magamiya, and (*e*) Kofo, (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), and (*e*) refrain from eloping with each others' wives, and this rule even applies to women who were formerly wives of (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), or (*e*), and have since gone elsewhere.

[1] For instances of this see later notes on the Kagoro tribe.

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582 583 612 All abduct the wives of (*d*), and vice versa. Both Magamiya and Kofo are of foreign origin, but no reason was assigned for the difference in treatment accorded to each. It is said that in bygone days (*a*) and (*b*) used to abduct the wives of (*c*), but the practice was abandoned when (*c*) became numerically strong. (*a*) and (*b*) have at no time eloped with each others' wives, because they consider themselves to be blood-relatives. In the sub-clan of Fakan the only communities which may elope with each others' wives are the towns of Zonzon and Sako. But the Bobai kindred of Zonzon will not elope with the wife of any Sako man, and vice versa, on the ground of blood-relationship. There does not appear to be any wife abduction between the sub-divisions of Shokwa. As regards Aku, the Akuzan and Akuchan do not elope with each others' wives, but I omitted to obtain information as to the conduct of these two sections towards the third section, viz. Asalio.

601 *Terms of Relationship and Social Regulations.*—The terms of relationship of the Katab tribe are given in the following lists. The terms are used by both males and females, except where otherwise stated :—

Atio is applied to a father, father's brothers, mother's brothers (for whom the term *angat* is also used), father's and mother's sister's husband, husband's father, husband's father's brother, and husband's mother's brother.

Ayang is applied to a mother, father's sisters, mother's sisters, father's and mother's brother's wife, husband's mother, father's co-wife.

Ngwan is applied to a son, daughter, brother's child, sister's child, husband's brother's child, wife's brother's child, husband's sister's child, wife's sister's child, brother's son's wife.

Nanyuk is applied to full or half-brothers and sisters, father's brother's child, father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, mother's sister's child. It is also a general term for " relative ". Elder and younger brothers (or sisters), are distinguished by the terms *nhwop* (or *neohwop*) and *shisho*. The term *ngwanaiyuk*, i.e. child of my brother (or sister), is a more particular term to describe nephews and nieces.

Atio-hwop is applied to father's or mother's father, father's mother's brother, father's father's brother, mother's mother's brother, mother's father's brother. The term *nungvanu* or " wife stealer " is also applied by a male to all relatives classed as *atiohwop* and they apply that term to him. A female applies the term *atuok* or " husband " to all relatives classed as *atiohwop* and they apply to her the term *aviyuk* or " wife ".

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601 relatives of the speaker's own generation (viz. brothers, sisters, cousins) are classed together as *nanyuk*, those of the generation above (viz. father, mother, their brothers, sisters, and cousins) as *atio* (fem. *-ayang*), those of the generation below (viz. sons, daughters, and their several cousins) as *ngwan*, and so on. This system of classification by seniority is not confined to blood relatives, but is applied generally to all members of the clan,[1] who consider themselves kin by virtue of descent from a common ancestor. Thus an Aku will address any other Aku who is of a senior generation as *atio* (or father), of a generation below as *ngwan* (son), of two generations below as *kambwon* (grandchild), of two generations above as *atiohwop* (grandfather), and of the same generation as *nanyuk*, a term which carries with it a prohibition of intermarriage. It is interesting to note here that one effect of elopement marriages is that half-brothers by the same mother may sometimes belong to different clans, and that the term *nanyuk* is thus sometimes applicable to a person who is not a fellow-clansman.

601 582 [587] Further, the relationship terminology is fundamentally influenced by the existing social relations. The application by a man of the term *aviyuk* or "wife" to his brother's wife or his grandfather's widow implies that those relatives are marriageable, as is actually the case, for both the senior and junior levirate are practised, and the inheritance of a paternal grandfather's widow is permissible, though of rare occurrence. (It is to be noted, however, that though a grandfather addresses a granddaughter as "wife" he cannot nowadays, if he ever could, marry her; and also that, although a man may inherit his father's widow, other than his own mother, he cannot address his father's wife as *aviyuk* or "wife". Marriageability is not, therefore, always indicated by the nomenclature. The term *nungvan* or "wife abductor", which males apply to all their grandsons, is also clearly a playful reference to the custom which permits a man to inherit the young widow of his paternal grandfather, excluding, of course, the mother of his own father. On the same principle the term *nungvan* is applied by males of one sub-clan to males of another sub-clan (of their own clan), for any male of one sub-clan may abduct the wife of any male of

[1] But clan groups between whom elopement with wives is practised use the special terminology indicated in the following paragraph.

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another sub-clan (of his own clan). The playmate relationship does not, therefore, subsist between two men of different divisions of the same clan, for men who are *nungvan* to one another are not on too friendly terms. And so a Fakan of the Minyam clan will never engage in a "Shero"[1] contest with an Aswen of the Minyam clan, but he will with a Kpaisa of the Agbat clan. Again a member of one clan calls any member of another, who is of the same seniority, his *ojam*, i.e. wife's brother (or sister), because he may marry into that clan. If the member of the other clan is of a senior generation he would describe him as *okwang* or parent-in-law. When certain members of the Agbat and Minyam clans were asked how they would describe the Aku and Shokwa clans, who both marry the daughters and steal the wives of members of other clans, they said they would apply the term *ojam* or *nungvan* according to the circumstances of the individual case.

The word for great-grandson if *kambonto*, which seems to mean "third birth". But he is also known as *tabar fufwo* or "touch the ear", an expression similar to that found among the Hausa and Ashanti. The meaning of this expression is obscure, and no explanation could be offered by the Katab. It is possibly to be explained in the following remark by M. Junod in writing of the Ba-Ronga[2]: "A very old man holds his son in his arms, his grandson on his thigh, and his great-grandson on his knees," the Katab reversing the order, so that the great-grandson plays with the old man's ear. This would not explain the Ashanti belief that a touch on the ear by a great-grandson causes speedy death, and it may be that the expression is the outcome of some sociological custom, which may be discovered by inquiries among other tribes. It is noteworthy that, although a man and his grandfather are playmates, a man and his great-grandfather are not.

The classification of the mother's father with the mother's brother under the common term of *angat* is natural to the Katab, who scarcely differentiate between these two relatives. For he can go to their compound and appropriate whatever he pleases from either, and if he is ill he may take up his abode with them until his health is restored. M. Junod notes that among the

[1] See p. 58.
[2] Junod, *Life of a S. African Tribe*, vol. i, p. 222.

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A female child is sought in marriage almost as soon as she is born. Indeed, while a Katab woman is still enceinte, the father of a boy may come and ask that, should her child be a girl, she may be affianced to his son (and add that should it be a boy he would be glad if the mother would name him after himself, promising to regard him as a son). If the request is granted and the child proves to be a girl, the father of the boy fastens a few cowries on her wrist as a symbol of appropriation. In the ordinary way, however, the girl is sought in marriage when she is a few years old, and it is important to note that the suitor never approaches the father of the girl directly in the first instance. He goes to the father's brother, for it is the father's brother who has the chief say in the disposal of the girl's hand and who receives the bride-price, part of which only he hands on to the parents of the girl. If the girl has no paternal uncle her hand may be at the disposal of a male paternal cousin.[1] It is for this reason that a playmate relationship is not permitted between a man and a female cousin to whom he may one day stand in the relation of guardian. When the girl grows up, and perchance finds she dislikes her betrothed, she would, through her girl friends, make her parents aware of her distaste, and the engagement would be broken off. But such a course would be unusual, as the maiden, even on the marriage day, is too young to hold any strong opinions of her own. She is formally betrothed at the age of seven, the fiancé presenting four chickens to the bridegroom's father. In that and every succeeding year the bridegroom and his friends perform one day's collective work on the farm of the girl's father (or her uncle if she has been, as commonly happens, adopted by her father's brother or cousin). This farm work may be commuted for a cash payment. Two thousand cowries or their equivalent are also given to the girl's father, who keeps the major part for himself and distributes the balance among his male relatives, i.e. brothers and paternal cousins. The bride-price is 20,000 cowries given to the father (of which he keeps two-thirds for his own use, distributing the balance among his relatives). Before the final rites a goat must be presented to the girl's mother, three chickens to the father, and one hundred cowries to her maternal grandfather. The

[1] And sometimes maternal, though I omitted to obtain detailed instances.

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583 father of the girl then fixes a day for the capture of the bride by the bridegroom. She is sent off on some fictitious errand, is captured by the bridegroom's friend, lifted on their shoulders, and carried to his house. One of my servants witnessed a capture. The maid was sitting in the market at Zangon Katab, selling beans (by her mother's orders). Three young men suddenly appeared, and the strongest caught her by the legs and carried her off screaming, with her legs over his shoulders and her head pointing downwards. She struggled violently and bit him, and after having covered 300 yards he was glad to hand her over to his assistants. No doubt they all arrived at the husband's home very much the worse for wear. Parents state that the capture ceremony saves them the pain of parting with their daughter, but it is apparent that until comparatively recent times the capture of a bride was a real and not a mock affair. For the Katab were accustomed to capture, when they could, virgins and married women from other tribes; and it was permissible within the tribe for one clansman to capture a girl who was betrothed to a fellow clansman. If the captor belonged to the same subdivision as the fiancé he repaid the fiancé all his expenses, as custom compelled the fiancé to resign his claim for ever. But if the captor belonged to a different subdivision there would be no repayment, as the fiancé was permitted to elope later with the woman to whom he had formerly been betrothed. The capture of affianced girls has now been [178] abandoned, the tribe having come to regard it as inconsistent with modern conditions. Moreover, with the increase of the bride-price, a captor would find it difficult to repay a sub-clansman whose fiancée he had captured. The captured bride is deposited in the hut of one of the bridegroom's relatives, and 585 remains there for three nights. On the fourth night she is taken to the bridegroom's house and the marriage is consummated. If the bridegroom discovers that the bride is not *virgo intacta* he abuses her roundly, but he does not, like the Hausa, advertise 582 the fact to the world. The Katab has good reason to expect 836 virginity, for though premarital cohabitation is practised between a girl and her fiancé and other lads, with the connivance of her parents, many Katab girls find themselves married women before they have reached the age of puberty. It is revolting to our ideas, and also appears to be against the law of nature, that

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836 grown-up men should have sexual relations with legal wives who may be under 13 years of age.

836 Pre-marital cohabitation is not practised to any great extent; for it is taboo between fellow clansmen; and as most of the clans are localized a boy of one clan has little opportunity of 848 sleeping with a girl of another. In the quite exceptional case [847] of a girl conceiving by a youth who was not her betrothed, it was stated that resort might be had to abortifacients. If these were unsuccessful, the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé, who would accept the child as his own. The child would suffer no legal disabilities, and in fact would occupy the privileged position of an "eldest son". *Per contra* this custom may explain why it is that, among the Hausa, the eldest son is treated as a stranger.

585 Katab girls are only married between October and March, i.e. during the dry season, and not (as among the Kagoro) during 591 a particular month of the wet season. The bride spends her first year in the hut of her husband's mother, sleeping with her husband at night. At the end of the year she is given her own hut and is provided by the husband's mother with the necessary 853 cooking utensils. After the birth of a child no sexual relations may occur between husband and wife until the child is weaned, 834 the reason for this rule being based on the observation that conception interferes with lactation.

584 It remains to add that members of the same sub-clan frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It is not 613 uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price 431 obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift.

586 It has been indicated already that no Katab husband can be sure that his wife of to-day will be living with him one year 851 hence. She may be approached by a clansman of her husband (but belonging to another subdivision) and invited to share his life. If she prefers to remain with her husband she will say "No"; but if she wishes a change she will say "Yes", and refer him to her parents, to whom he will have to pay a bride-price. He may approach the parents in the first instance, and they may bring pressure to bear on their daughter. And so off she goes, perhaps enceinte by her first husband. It does not

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scraps of meat have been added. Next day, accompanied by the Magaji and his assistants, and by the senior relatives of his household, he goes to the graveside. The Magaji inspects the dish of beniseed, and, if the ancestral ghost has partaken, there will be found in the dish a few hairs of the hide of some bush animal. Needless to say it is the Magaji alone who may make the inspection, and the hairs are always found. The youngest of the Magaji's assistants then offers a prayer: "I declare to our ancestral spirit that, if I have done him wrong, I come to him to seek forgiveness. I repent in order that I may find good fortune on earth at his hands. May Gwaza (God) grant that I may be blessed with children and wealth." The other assistants in turn make similar prayers, and finally the Magaji himself concludes by saying: "We have made common prayer and it has been received. Absolution has been granted you. Begone all of you to the bush, and may Gwaza prosper you and give you quarry to bring to me. If you fail to obey this command, then the blame is with you and has nought to do with your forefathers." They all rejoice and say they will go forthwith. The priest then takes the beniseed and meat offerings and gives a little to the head of the household and his companions in turn. He gives some of the beer to the householder, drinks some himself, and hands on the remainder to the others. Any of the beer left over has to be drunk by the priest himself. The young men then go off to hunt, and the quarry is brought to the priest, who divides it up among the members of the household and his own assistants, the major portion going to the priest and to the individual who had brought the quarry down.

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It may be interesting to describe here the ceremony of reconciliation between two members of a family. It may be that a younger brother has quarrelled with an elder, and in a fit of temper the elder has told the younger that he never wishes to see his face again. This amounts to an imprecation, which the younger brother may ignore for some time. But the remembrance of it will rankle in his mind, and circumstances will soon arise which will make the memory of the imprecation intolerable. Sickness may invade his house. And so he will resolve that the time has come for an atonement. With a flask of beer and a chicken he will go to his brother, and in the presence of the senior members of the family will formally repent, asking

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Associated apparently with the private ancestral cult is the public cult of the *obwai* or tutelary genius (Hausa *dodo*), how seems to represent generally the plurality of ancestral spirits and particularly the spirit of the ancestor of the clan or kindred. The people have no clear ideas on the subject, which is not surprising, as the *obwai* cult was found in many instances to have been an importation from neighbouring tribes or to have been derived from the Aku clan, whose *obwai* take precedence of all the others. It is noticeable that the *obwai* hut is the only round hut in the village. It can accommodate thirty or forty people, and is provided with mud benches. It is often surmounted with a piece of pottery resembling a crown. The doorway is protected by a curtain of palm fronds, and no initiate may enter the hut at any time other than on the occasion of a festival. The cult is in the hands of the *Agwam obwai*, and plays a considerable part in the social and religious life of the people. It partakes of the nature of a secret society and is used largely as a means of discipline for women and children. The *obwai* is not seen, but his voice is heard, and every two years his representative appears publicly in his costume of grass, dancing round and striking with his cane anyone he comes across. (It is said that he will strike a woman who is going to bear a male child, but will not touch a woman who is going to bear a female.)

As a social factor the *obwai* is not unimportant. If a theft is committed in the village the shrill voice of the *obwai* is heard, and he has to be provided with beer in order that the sin may be purged. The *obwai* may at night be heard striking the wall of a house where an ill-natured wife has been giving trouble to her husband, warning her to desist. I was informed by an *Agwam obwai* that the representations to him of a mere bully of a husband would not be received; he would be told he was a liar and sent about his business. Nevertheless, it is obvious that, as the cult is in the hands of men, and the *Agwam obwai* receives a benefit when his services are required, the cult must be used more in the interests of the male than of the female sex.

Among the neighbouring Kaje tribe every two to three years the *obwai* compels every woman to wear (from July until the *obwai* festival in February) a string necklace as a guarantee that she will not abandon her husband during that period, i.e. the Kaje seek by religious means to put some check on the social evil of excessive sub-marriages. She is required to wear this necklace

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794 626 582 continually, and to produce it at the spring festival tied round the pot containing her offering of beer. If she cannot produce it she is fined. If she runs off to another husband during that period, her relatives, who of course live in some other town, are fined. It might appear that the *obwai* of one town had no power of levying fines on members of another town, but as there is a reciprocal arrangement between the towns there is no difficulty in collecting the fines. The practice is not purely selfish, but is directed towards the common good, for in addition to prohibiting one's own wives from running away it also prohibits parents during this period from allowing their married daughters to contract a sub-marriage. A parent of town A who during these six months receives a bride-price from a man in town B for a married daughter who lives in town C is fined by the *obwai*.

794 796 241 The *obwai* is not, however, merely a village policeman. He is the centre of the festivals which begin and end the agricultural year. The main *obwai* festival is that which introduces farming operations just before the first rains. The whole community brings to the *obwai* hut offerings of beer, beniseed, goats, chickens, and porridge. The senior men pour the beer into the common pot in the *obwai* house, leaving a portion for the women and the younger people, who partake outside. The *Agwam obwai* then drinks a little of the beer from the pot, and asks the *obwai* to secure for them a successful farming season. A general feast ensues, the senior males being inside the *obwai* house, and the women and younger males being outside in the vicinity under a large tree. Dancing begins, and the voice of the *obwai* is heard. (He speaks, concealed in the roof, in a voice disguised by the use of a wooden tube covered with spider's egg capsule.) He breaks into a song, addressing, it would seem, his living representative the *Agwam obwai*: "Kiachang a chira" ("Have you taken aught from anyone by force?"). The *Agwam obwai* replies "E" ("No, I have not"). The *obwai* continues: "Gado ze yai kiang niâ cheda" ("No one can take aught by force—he can only give it willingly"). The *Agwam obwai* replies (singing, and all outside taking up the refrain): "Ei ee" ("Yes, that is true"). The *obwai* continues: "Lung yungwav" ("Fire has devoured the town"). Refrain: "Ei, ee." *Obwai*: "Salio bang ayawat" ("But nothing can part brethren save death only"). Refrain: "Ei, ee." *Obwai*: "A biang sang okwon" (indecent). Refrain:

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This Question of the contraction of sub-marriages And the 691 582

resultant disputes as to the paternity of children has exercised the minds of the Administration for many years. It is horrifying to both the Muslim and the European mind that an enceinte woman should abandon her husband and bring forth and wean a child in the house of a rival husband. The repugnance felt towards the practice and the unceasing court cases which it entailed led everyone, including the Katab chiefs themselves, to the conclusion that the best method of dealing with the Gordian knot was to cut it. And so proposals were brought forward that a woman who was enceinte should not contract a sub-marriage with another man until she had weaned her child, and that rival suitors or parents who influenced or harboured "fugitive" wives should be punished. The Katab chiefs, if they did not actually suggest these alterations in their tribal custom, at any rate agreed, but when the new rules were about to be promulgated they suddenly dissented, realizing that the matter was not so simple as it had appeared, and that the alteration would strike at the very basis of their social life. And so at the last moment the suggested innovations were abandoned, and the present position in Zaria Province is that a man whose wife runs off to another man, and whom he believes to be enceinte by him, must immediately notify the Court. Paternity disputes have in consequence diminished. This rule has been adopted in the Plateau Province by those tribes who are independent; but, if my information is correct, in the Iya's district of the Jema'a Division rules have been lately introduced forbidding a woman who is enceinte or weaning a child to contract a sub-marriage. If this is so, it means, in practice, that the Administration is putting a stop to the contraction of sub-marriages, on which the present social organization largely depends. Quite apart from that, the rule is likely to cause more trouble than it removes.

The sub-clan head had not a great deal of authority, being 613 554
simply an intermediary between the sub-clan and the foreign rulers. He had nothing to do with the assignment of or collection of taxes, as the Kauru rulers dealt direct with the villages in such matters. He was, however, the mouthpiece of the Kauru rulers, and could summon the village and sub-clan heads to discuss matters of administration. In judicial matters he could deal with minor offences, but took as little responsibility as possible, referring to Kauru all important matters or those

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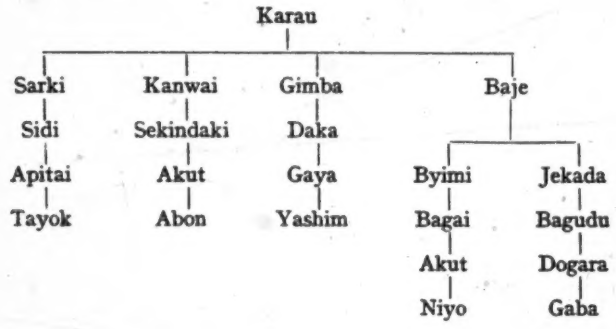
619 the Katab district being administered by the Katuka, both of whom are district headmen of the Emir of Zaria. In former 648 times they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chiefs of Kajuru, from whom the Kachichere Chief received the sacred sword which was, in pre-Fulani days, the emblem of office.

619 I spent two days among the Kachichere, my inquiries being merely directed towards ascertaining the character of the social 614 organization. The tribe, if it can be called a tribe, consists of four social groups: (1) the Ne-Tabin, (2) the Ne-Chobiam, (3) the Ne-Tiet, and (4) the Iningwa-Tiap.

614 The members of each group believe themselves to be blood relatives, and as they appear to be able to trace their ancestry genealogically back to a common forefather, they may be regarded as kindreds rather than clans. The Ne-Tabin pedigree was given as follows:—



614 Each kindred constitutes for marriage purposes a single exogamous unit; that is to say, no Tabin may marry a Tabin, 582 but a Tabin may marry a member of any of the other kindreds. 583 There are no family totems, but all respect the crocodile and leopard. There is no grouping, as among the Katab, which permits of the contraction of sub-marriages by wife elopement. It is a taboo for any Kachichere to elope with the wife of any other Kachichere. Sub-marriages may, however, be contracted with wives obtained from neighbouring tribes.

614 The kindreds are not localised, but live together intermingled in a single village-area. The civil Chief of the Kachichere of 621 the Katuka's district belongs to the Tabin kindred, and his

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101 Africa. They are an independent tribe, under the government
648 of a central chief, their independence having been conceded on the ground that the tribe was never wholly subservient to the Fulani Emirs of Jemaa. There is evidence, however, that these Emirs had at times sufficient influence to meddle in the internal affairs of the tribe, even to the extent of nominating the tribal chief. It is indeed probable that the existence of a central authority is due to this foreign influence. It would further appear that prior to the destruction by the Fulani of the power of Kajuru (Zaria Province) the Kagoro were to some extent subservient to Kajuru.

They state that they migrated to their present habitat from
101 the direction of Nimbia in the vicinity of Jemaa, but it is clear
174 that linguistically and culturally they belong to the same tribal group as the Katab and Morwa, with whom they freely intermarry. They dress in the same distinctive manner as the Katab, and live usually in the same peculiar type of house. It is noteworthy, however, that in some of the Kagoro villages the houses are of the round pattern, and this is said to be the more ancient. It would appear probable, therefore, that a fusion has taken place between the Kagoro, Katab, and Morwa within comparatively recent times, a fusion which has also embraced, though to a lesser extent, the neighbouring tribes of the Kaje, Jaba, Kagoma, and some sections of the Ikulu.

582 The social system throughout all these tribes follows a uniform pattern in two important respects, viz. that the tribe is organized for purposes of (*a*) marriage with girls not previously married, and (*b*) marriage by elopement with married women, the general rule being that the component units of the local group do not elope with each others' wives, but certain units of one local group either marry the daughters or steal the wives of members of certain sections of another local group, but may not (with rare exceptions) do both. That is to say, e.g. that the members of unit *a* of village-area *X* may marry the daughters of members of units *a*, *b*, *c* of village *Y*, but may not elope with their wives; they may elope with the wives of members of units *d*, *e*, *f* of village *Y*, but may not marry their daughters. Occasionally one unit of one town may both marry the daughters and steal the wives of a unit in some other town, but this appears to be quite exceptional and contrary to propriety. In certain cases

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582 one unit of one local group will neither marry the daughters nor steal the wives of a particular unit of another local group, on the ground of some supposed relationship. This brings us to the next point, which is that each of the units of the local group is exogamous, and that a number of these units may constitute a single exogamous section of the local group. As 582 a general rule the exogamous group of one town has a uniform 621 policy as regards intermarriage with another exogamous group in another town, i.e. they either steal the wives or marry the daughters of that other group. But the rule is not invariable, for occasionally one unit of the exogamous group in one town will steal the wives of a unit of the exogamous group in another town, while another unit of the same exogamous group will marry the daughters of the unit in the exogamous group in the other town. To take a few examples, the town of Fadan [162] Kagoro consists of eight local groups or wards, viz.: (i) Agwam (population 220), (ii) Lawat (pop. 182), (iii) Kadau (pop. 200); (iv) Mingyuo (pop. 253), (v) Mungwap (pop. 91), (vi) Akumat (pop. 42), (vii) Pagwar (pop. 25), (viii) Kachan (pop. 120). Each [611] ward is exogamous, and descent is patrilineal. If a stranger settles within a ward he and his children are not subject to the rule of exogamy. If a member leaves the ward and settles in the bush he remains subject to the exogamous rule. Wards (i), (ii), and (iii) constitute a single exogamous group on the ground of a common origin. They would make common cause if necessary against the other wards, and they are the possessors of the civil chieftainship. Wards (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii) do not constitute a single exogamous group; each ward may marry into any other ward with the exception that wards (v) and (vi) do not intermarry on the ground of having had a common forefather, nor do (vii) and (viii). Wards (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii) would make common cause against wards (i), (ii), and (iii). With them lies the religious chieftainship. The important members of wards (i), (ii), and (iii) may wear gowns, but the use of a gown is taboo in wards (iv), (v), (vi), (vii), and (viii), and no one wearing a gown is allowed to attend the religious rites. It will be seen, therefore, that there is in Fadan Kagoro something in the nature of a dual organization, i.e. two inter-marrying groups, one royal the other priestly, with potential hostility between the two.

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582 621 [162] The town of Kukum contains the following wards (*a*) (i) Kutuk (pop. 224), (ii) Kasaya (pop. 236), (iii) Zupong (pop. 132), (iv) Kubwai (pop. 80), (v) Kundwak (pop. 250), (vi) Gwayit (pop. 90); (*b*) (vii) Sukulak (pop. 250); (*c*) (viii) Pagwat (pop. 100). Wards (i) to (vi) constitutes a single exogamous unit, (vii) and (viii) each constitutes a single exogamous unit. A member of Kutuk, therefore, may not marry a member of Kasaya, but he may marry a member of Sukulak. No one in Kukum may steal the wife of any other in Kukum. The members of the first six wards may marry the daughters of members of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro, and may steal the wives of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. Vice versa the members of Sukulak and Pagwat steal the wives of members of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro and marry the daughters of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. But there was stated to be one exception, viz. that Pagwat do not either marry the daughters nor steal the wives of the Kachan ward of Fadan Kagoro.

[162] The town of Kpak consists of the following wards:—(*a*) (i) Chuot (pop. 210), (ii) Michen (pop. 168), (iii) Kuchok (pop. 205), (iv) Badamai (pop. 186); (*b*) (v) Atsuen (pop. 67); (*c*) (vi) Pien (pop. 177). Wards (i) to (iv) constitute a single exogamous group; ward (v) is also a single exogamous unit, and so is ward (vi). Wards (i) to (iv) steal the wives of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro and marry the daughters of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. But there is an exception in that the Kuchok ward of Kpak does not steal the wives (or marry the daughters) of the Agwam ward of Fadan Kagoro. They consider themselves related and drink beer together. Vice versa wards (v) and (vi) of Kpak marry the daughters of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro and steal the wives of members of the other wards of Fadan Kagoro. But there were two exceptions to this rule. The Pien ward of Kpak does not steal from the Mingyuo ward of Fadan Kagoro, as they consider themselves blood relatives and drink beer together. The Mingyuo ward was said both to steal the wives and marry the daughters of members of the Atsuen ward. I was unable to verify this, but it appeared to be an exceptional case, and it was stated that it was a new-fangled custom. If such a thing happened in the

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582 621 olden days it would have led to fighting between the two groups.

583 It would seem that among the Kagoro it was not the practice to approach a woman's parents before eloping with her. The elopement took place first, and the parents were compensated 581 859 afterwards. It was also stated that in former times if an enceinte woman ran away the secondary husband generally refused to return the child to the father. The town of Agbam consists 582 621 of four wards, viz.: (*a*) (i) Kamwan (pop. 424), (ii) Kutang (pop. 321); (*b*) (iii) Kajung (pop. 300); (*c*) (iv) Mungwop (pop. [162] 150). Wards (i) and (ii) form a single exogamous group. Ward (iii) is an exogamous unit and so is ward (iv). Wards (i) and (ii) steal wives from the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. Wards (iii) and (iv) have the reverse process. There are two exceptions, however. The Kajung ward of Agbam does not steal wives (or marry daughters) of the Mingyuo ward of Fadan Kagoro. The Mungwop of Agbam do not steal wives or marry daughters of the Mungwop of Fadan Kagoro. They drink beer together at feasts and consider themselves related. As both bear the same name and have apparently the same animal emblem they may each be a localised group of a former clan. If so they would not, of course, marry each others' daughters; but in so far as kinship is concerned there would be no bar to stealing each others' wives. Among the Katab one section of the clan steals from another of the same clan.

[162] The town of Malogun consists of four wards, viz.: (i) Kuchok (pop. 400), (ii) Machin (pop. 140), (iii) Kwam (pop. 120), (iv) Aku (pop. 300). The first three were said to constitute a single exogamous unit, but I did not verify this. All, however, intermarry with (iv) who belong to the Katab and not the Kagoro tribe. Wards (i) to (iii) steal the wives of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards in Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. But as regards the Aku ward of Malogun there is no fixed rule, as they are not of the Kagoro tribe. Any Fadan Kagoro man may marry a daughter or steal a wife of the Aku ward of Malogun. From the evidence given it will be apparent that the dual system of intermarriage between two towns protects the exogamous group from a breach of the kinship rules (for if you steal a wife from

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621 582 the same group as you give your daughters you might be marrying a relative forbidden by the "clan" rule. Moreover, a mother and daughter might be lodged in the same household or family as the respective wives of two brothers or cousins). Secondly, it prevents hostility (which wife-stealing entails) with a group many of whose members are married to your daughters.

583 A few words may be said about the marriage arrangements. Marriage with girls is of the so-called "purchase" type, coupled with some spasmodic agricultural service rendered to the girl's parents or guardians. The purchase amounts to little, taking the form merely of gifts of a hoe, beer, and meat, a return present of cooked beans being given by the girl's family. Later, gifts of beniseed and two chickens are given, cooked beans being again given in return. When the girl is ready for marriage she receives the elaborate body-marks mentioned in the Katab report. The final gifts are one goat and six chickens, after which the girl is taken to the husband's home, a marriage feast being held. It is noteworthy that girls are only given in marriage about the month of October. Marriage by elopement is arranged by the couple themselves, but the abductor nowadays first secures by gifts the good offices of the woman's parents. Formerly it was customary for a man to abduct the wife of a member of another town and subsequently to obtain by gifts the consent of her parents. There is no marriage by exchange among the Kagoro. [604] A maternal uncle may help his sister's son to procure a wife, but among the Kagoro the maternal uncle has no great authority. [431] If a boy is successful in hunting he gives the head to the maternal uncle, who in return presents him with a goat or hoe and an arrow to replace the one expended in bringing down the quarry. [582 602] A man may marry into his mother's ward, but he must avoid immediate blood relatives of his mother. The relationship system is identical with that of the Katab.

825 582 621 [761] *Animal Emblems.*—In Fadan Kagoro the people of the Lawat ward appear to associate themselves with a certain species of snake. If this snake passes the door of a Lawat's house it is said to be a portent of death. No Lawat may kill this snake, but members of the associated wards of Agwam and Kadau may. The Mingyuo are said to respect the bush cat, and the Mungwop the chameleon. If a Mungwap killed a chameleon the heads of his children would, at birth, be covered with sores. The

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825 582 621 Mungwap of Agbam also respect the chameleon, and, as the two groups believe themselves to be related and refrain from intermarriage and wife-stealing, they are apparently localized groups of a single clan. On the other hand the Akumat, who do not intermarry with the Mungwop, on the ground of a common origin, do not appear to respect the chameleon. Both the Pagwar and Kachan, who refrain from intermarriage, respect a harmless species of snake which is allowed to live in the house of the priestly family of Pagwar. It appears, therefore, that on the whole the " totemic " groups do not coincide with the exogamous groups, and that if society was organized formerly on a totemic basis the totemism has broken down.

621 792 224 Each ward has its headman or " father " who is the controller of festivals and chief priest. If any member of the wards has been successful in hunting he brings the quarry to the " father " to cook. After it is cooked the " father " sprinkles some digitaria millet over it, and petitions God (Gwaza) to give the hunter further success. He then distributes it among the members of his own and the hunter's family. The man who provided the hunter with the poison by which the animal was shot is given the skin. Even in the ward of the central chief the ward " father " retains his ancient rights. He is the representative of the oldest generation and may therefore be a comparatively young man.

621 628 621 792 771 In olden days each ward settled its own affairs without reference to any outside authority, for the tribe had no central organization until it came under the influence of the Kachichere Habe of Kajuru—from whom the sword which is the emblem of chieftainship was originally obtained. If a member of one ward killed a member of another, open warfare usually ensued between the two wards. The Mingyuo ward is the priestly ward for Fadan Kagoro. They are the first to plant their crops, and are the leaders in the rites observed in connection with the harvest and the annual hunting battue. The Kagoro, however, like the Katab, do not seem to be strongly imbued with religious ideas, and there is a singular absence of organized religion. There are not, therefore, any elaborate initiation rites such as are found among their neighbours the Jaba.

727 554 The Kagoro were head-hunters. When a warrior obtained a head he put it in his bag and carried it home, where he was received with great rejoicing, the townspeople greeting him

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The Kaje

The Kaje, who call themselves the Baju, are situated to the south-west of the Katab, and are split in two by the Zaria Plateau provincial boundary, half the tribe being under the Emir of Zaria and the other half under the Emir of Jemaa. The tribe was originally wholly administered by Zaria, being directly responsible to the Galadima of that city, and the present unfortunate bisection dates back to that period of last century when the establishment of the Fulani at Jemaa led to a reshuffling of the districts.

The Kaje consist of six localized groups, as follows:

(1) The Baiduang, inhabiting the villages of Zonkwa, Zuturu, Kurmin Bi, and Madauchi (Zaria Province).
(2) The Baintso, inhabiting the villages of Fadan Kaje, Tsofon Gidda, Fadia, Rimfa, Kafɔ, Zagwom (Zaria Province).
(3) The Baimbin, inhabiting the villages of Aduang, Suriang, Wadong, Kan-Kadong (Plateau Province).
(4) The Bainturung, inhabiting the villages of Duwhan, Vontong, Abet, Kanyem, Abong (Plateau Province).
(5) The Batadon, inhabiting the villages of Madakia, Azufwo, Kukwan, Furjam, Giddan Atang, Vumpang, Pong, Sosun, Kumantso, Dichodon, Zat, Zankiruwa (Plateau Province).
(6) The Banewhan, inhabiting the villages of Katsuk, Zubong, Marsa, Afana, Zamberkpat, Bakin Kogi, Rakawan, Chenchuk, Kurdan, Ataiechap, Kamerun, Rikeakwon, Zauru (Plateau Province).

These six divisions may be described as village confederacies, for they are not "clans" in the accepted sense of being exogamous units. Certain informants of the Baiduang group stated that in former times no Baiduang man could marry a Baiduang woman, and a villager of Fadia informed me that he had been told by his father that formerly it was not permissible for any Faida man to marry any woman of the Baintso group. If this information is correct it would appear that the Kaje formerly had an exogamous clan organization which has only broken down in recent times. It has given place to a modified form of exogamy, based on the kinship, real or fictitious, of the local group inhabiting a single village-area. I was unable to obtain any clear evidence that village confederacies had also been totemic. It was stated that the Baiduang respected the leopard, but there was no evidence that the leopard was a totem, though one informant

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621 825 stated that leopards embodied the souls of Baiduang ancestors. Another informant stated that the *tatong* was taboo to all Baiduang and if one was caught it was taken to the Shokwa priest of the Katab tribe, an indication, perhaps, that some sections of the Kaje and some of the Katab at one time formed a single social unit.

Several of the Baintso stated that the crocodile was formerly respected by all members of the Baintso village confederacy; anyone who ate crocodile's flesh would break out into sores and die; and the use of crocodile's skin was taboo. They added, however, that the respect for the crocodile had waned. The Kaje sing numerous songs in honour of the crested crane, but this bird did not appear to be the emblem of any particular social group. It is possible that the Kaje village confederacies were totemic as well as exogamous, but if so it is clear that the clan totemism, like the clan exogamy, has now broken down.

621 582 There is one interesting and important feature about the village confederacy organization just described which would suggest that this organization may never have had anything to do with exogamy, but came into existence purely as a wife-stealing confederation. I refer to the rule that among the Kaje a member of a village confederacy may not elope with the wife of another member of the same village confederacy, e.g. a Baiduang may not elope with the wife of a Baiduang. This rule may be due to the circumstance that as the local village groups of a confederacy intermarry into each other, wife-stealing within the confederacy would lead to incestuous unions. But it is possible to look at the matter from another angle and to trace from two wife-stealing confederacies the origin of a single exogamous clan. To take an example:—

A is a wife-stealing confederacy and the members of A steal the wives of the members of B, another wife-stealing confederacy. In time B, being the weaker, suggests to A that instead of stealing each other's wives they should marry each other's daughters. Men of A would cease to marry girls of A, as those girls would have to be given to B. And thus A and B which were formerly wife-stealing confederacies would become exogamous clans. It may be objected that this is pure assumption. But as instances were found among the Kagoro of two villages agreeing to give up the practice of eloping with each other's wives and to marry

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instead each other's daughters; and as, among the Katab, the Minyam and Agbat clans at the present day object to the custom of the Aku and Shokwa clans both stealing their wives and marrying their daughters, and assert that they should do one or the other, it will be seen that there is evidence for this theory of the origin of clan exogamy.

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Thus the Baiduang, Baintso, Beimbin, Bainturu, Batadon, and Banewhan might be regarded as clans (i.e. exogamous clans) in the making. Whether this is so, or whether these large groups represent clans which have now lost their exogamy, the social unit at the present time is the village-area group. This group consists of one or more kindreds who believe themselves to be descended patrilineally from a common ancestor. As the common descent can seldom be proved genealogically,[1] it is apparent that the village groups, being exogamous, constitute in reality small clans. If, therefore, a section of one village settles in another area, the rule forbidding intermarriage is maintained. And thus, though normally the members of one village may intermarry with the members of any other village, there are exceptions based on kinship considerations. The people of Fadia (a Baintso village) will not, for example, intermarry with the people of Tsofon Gidda (also a Baintso village) on the ground of a supposed consanguinity. The rule of local exogamy does not, of course, prevent a man from marrying the daughter of a recent immigrant into his village. Such marriages are permissible for three or four generations, but it would appear that usually after four generations the descendants of immigrants become absorbed in the village-area group and are therefore obliged to seek consorts from other villages. In some cases, however, the immigrant family is not absorbed, especially if it is distinguished by holding some hereditary civil or religious office. The family of the Chief of Kurmin Bi for example, intermarries with that of the Magajin Obwai on the ground that the latter belonged originally to the village-area of Zuturu.

That the local village-area group constitutes in reality a patrilineal clan is shown by the rule that a man is not debarred from marrying into his mother's village provided he avoids marriage with the immediate relatives of his mother, i.e. with maternal first, second, or third cousins.

[1] The founders of the alleged related kindreds are generally supposed to have been half brothers by the same father.

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maternal first, second, or third cousins. It would appear that there is a tendency for the village-area exogamous group to identify itself with a certain animal. The people of Kurmin Bi bury their dead in the skin of a leopard on the ground that the leopard is their relative and that they become leopards at death. It was said that the people of Zonkwa for the same reason bury their dead in the skin of a red monkey, and those of Madauchi in the skin of a cat. The people of Fadia were said to wrap their dead first in a leopard's skin and then in that of a red monkey, possibly because they are of mixed origin. Unfortunately time did not allow me to follow up this line of inquiry.

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Wife-abduction is not permitted between members of the same confederacy, i.e. a Baiduang may not steal the wife of a Baiduang. But normally a member of one confederacy may elope with the wife of a member of any other confederacy, e.g. a Bainturu may elope with the wife of a Banewhan. There are exceptions, however, to this rule, for two towns belonging to different confederacies may, if they are situated close to each other, agree together not to elope with each other's wives. Thus the men of Kurmin Bi (Baiduang) refrain from abducting the wives of men of Fadan Kaje (Baintso) and vice versa, on the ground that these two villages are situated close to each other. Similarly the men of Fadia (Baintso) refrain from eloping with the wives of the men of Zonkwa (Baiduang). A Zonkwa man also avoids eloping with the wives of men of Tsofon Gidda (Baintso) and vice versa. We can see here a process going on which might quite conceivably result in the Baiduang and Baintso becoming two intermarrying exogamous clans.

601

The Kaje relationship terminology is practically the same as that of the Katab except for the dialectical differences, which are as follows :—

Katab.	*Kaje.*
Atio	Ati (possessive atienzuk)
Ayang	Na
Ngwan	Kawon
Nanyuk	Awum
Atiowhop	Atiokwop
Ayangowhop	Nakwop
Kambwon	Kambwon
Aniat	Anian

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MORWA

Where the plural prefix *Ma* is used, it is applied to people of alien origin and inferior birth. The Morwa do not themselves use these typically Bantu prefixes, but many Nigerian tribes in speaking of themselves use the Bantu plural prefix *Ba*. The Kaje, for example, who are neighbours of the Morwa, call themselves the Ba-ju, the Ikulu the Bakulu, and so on. The Morwa speak the same language as the Katab.

The Morwa are an independent tribe, though they were apparently subject in ancient days to the Habe kings of Zaria and certainly during the last century to the Beri-Beri and Fulani dynasties of Zaria. The tribe seems at one time to have been located slightly further to the north (at Yelwa) and to have been driven south by Zaria slave-raiders. The plain they now occupy is very fertile, and is flanked by the Kagoro hills which offered a safe retreat in time of war.

The ruling family resides at Manchok, and the present chief states that his family came originally from Kabanchan, a Kagoro town in the Madaiki's district of Jemaa. The earliest settlers were the kindred known as the Ye-Lutsi who migrated to Manchok from Tankurang (Yelwa) across the Zaria-Plateau provincial boundary sometime last century. In this kindred is vested the priestly functions, and we have thus at Manchok the bisection so commonly found, into (*a*) the earliest settlers and custodians of the religious rites, (*b*) the ruling family, a later arrival.

The district consists of a number of village-areas of which the principal are Manchok (with Kisagwai), Beniki, Bandong, Chori, Agbwat (Babban Gidda), Matok, Gora, Bungen, Zankan, Mahuta, and Chonbano. All these are inhabited almost entirely by Asolio. Included in the district also are a number of villages inhabited by members of the neighbouring Ataka tribe. There is also a village called Nandiyam which consists of both Asolio and of Katab. There is free intermarriage between the Asolio and the sections which belong to other tribes, the marriages taking the form either of marriages with girls or of elopement with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permissible among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

The social organization is, as among the Kagoro and Katab, of a dual character, i.e. there is the kinship grouping and there

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is the grouping for purposes of wife-stealing. The kinship group consists in its simplest form of a kindred, i.e. of a number of families living in close proximity who are related to each other patrilineally. In its more complex form it consists of a clan, and is composed of a number of kindreds not always occupying the same territory who believe themselves to be related, but whose relationship is incapable of proof by means of pedigrees. The clan is exogamous, and *a fortiori* so is the kindred. Individuals are also debarred from marrying any close relative of their mother. The wife-stealing group coincides in one instance with a single clan, but in the two remaining instances is composed of two separate clans. The organization may be shown as follows, but owing to the short time spent among the Morwa (two days only) I was unable to test by genealogies the accuracy of the information given.

Wife-stealing Unit.	*Clan.*	*Territorial Units.*
Ye-Lutsi	Ye-Lutsi	Bangen and sections of the villages of Kisagwai, Chonbano, Chori, Mahuta, and Manchok.
Ne-Sa	Manchok (?) Kajim	Manchok, Kajim, and sections of the villages of Zankan and Nandiyan.
Ne-Zam	Ekwopang Ekutai (?)	Bandong. Beniki and sections of Zankan, Kisagwai, Mahuta, and Kaura.

Now firstly, as regards marriages with girls, no one may marry the daughter of a member of his own clan, and no one may marry the daughter of a member of another clan from whom wives are stolen. Secondly, the members of one clan of a wife-stealing unit do not steal the wives of members of the other clan of the same wife-stealing unit, nor do they steal the wives of members of their own clan. Thirdly, if one clan of a wife-stealing unit A marries the daughters of a clan of another wife-stealing unit B, the other clan of A steals the wives of B and vice versa. There is also a proviso that no one may steal the wife of a member of his own village-area. The village of Beniki does not seem to fall in with the general arrangement, and it thus incurs the censure of the other communities, in the

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582 same way that the Aku and Shokwa sections of the Katab tribe
614 are blamed by the other sections of the Katab for not conforming to the general practice. It will be seen that the system among the Morwa corresponds more or less to that of the Kagoro. It differs from that of the Katab in that among the Katab the wife-stealing grouping is usually smaller than the clan grouping, whereas among the Morwa the wife-stealing grouping is usually larger than the clan grouping.

583 The wife-stealing customs of the Morwa do not seem to
586 have been interfered with by the Administration. A form of bride-price is paid by the abductor to the father of the woman with whom he elopes. The Morwa do not want any change made in their custom, such as the formal dissolution of the primary marriage by a refund of the bride-price. A husband who loses his wife by elopement hopes that she will one day return to him. The practice, they say, is suitable for both husbands and wives. It gives each the opportunity of finding the partner who suits him or her best. A Morwa seldom demands the return of his bride-price. He might ask for the return of the bride-price paid for a woman who proved unsatisfactory within a year of marriage, but even in these circumstances the bride-price would be lessened by a sum reckoned as compensation for the house-work performed, an interesting sidelight on the Morwa conception of marriage. Children belong to the actual father.

583 Girls are given in marriage twice a year, when the first rains
587 come and at the ripening of the millet, a fertility custom. A form of capture is practised with the connivance of the girl's parents
428 and relatives. During the capture female relatives make a show of beating off the captors. Both the senior and junior levirate are practised, and sons may inherit their fathers' widows. This latter practice appears, however, to be dying out. Nor do the Morwa any longer inherit the widows of grandparents.

604 As regards authority in the mother's family the Morwa have similar customs to the Kagoro. Boys are careful to avoid incurring the displeasure of a maternal uncle, whose curse would be regarded
[431] with the greatest fear. Husbands are accustomed to giving a formal present of a *kantu* of salt to the wife's parents when she bears a second child. This is analogous to the redemptive fee
604 payable among neighbouring tribes. It is customary among
517 the Morwa, as among their neighbours, for a man to hand over

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Jaba

Their territory is cut in two by the
101 Zaria-Plateau boundary, a circumstance which is likely to hinder
[133] or prevent the evolution of a single tribal authority. They call themselves the Ham (Ham), and under this title Koelle published
197 a vocabulary of their language some eighty years ago. A schedule of words and phrases is attached from which it will be seen that
[193] Jaba belongs to the classifying group of the Sudanic family. The prefix system is less regular than in Kurama, some of whose prefixes are of the Bantu type. The phonology is closely akin
[194] to that of the Aregwe of the Bauchi Plateau, and one of the most striking features is the prevalence of palatalization of consonants.

802 They had, and still employ, the duodecimal system of numeration, though it has now become confused with a decimal system, so that the word for "ten" is described as *sok Kpara* or "The Hausa *sok*" and the word for "twelve" is called *sok Ham* or "the Jaba *sok*".

621 The social organization of the tribe appears to be of the local exogamy pattern. Thus in the town of Kwoi each ward
● 582 constitutes an exogamous group, marriage between members of the same ward being prohibited.

The Kwoi wards are :—

(1) Sarkin Turu.
(2) Makama.
(3) Magaji.
(4) Sarki.
(5) Yari.
(6) Galadima.
(7) Madaki.

It was stated that not so long ago the first five wards constituted a single exogamous group. They regarded themselves as being of one stock, and intermarried only with the members of the Galadima or Madaki wards. This grouping broke down, it is said, because the women of the Galadima and Madaki wards proved insufficient to go round the men of the other five wards, especially as parents of the outlying villages of Nok, Sambam, etc., were less inclined to give their daughters to men of Kwoi town, on the ground that the women of Kwoi town had taken to wearing garments of cloth, whereas they (of Nok, etc.) still maintained their semi-nude condition. If these statements are correct they are of great interest as being an actual instance of the manner in which social groups break

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up, and as showing also the effect which modern conditions have on the social organization of primitive tribes. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know what regard, if any, missionaries pay to the local laws of exogamy in arranging marriages between converts, inasmuch as intermarriage of persons of the same social group is viewed by the natives as repulsive and incestuous, and people who contract such marriages are regarded as bringing pollution on the entire community.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally. A man may, therefore, marry a woman of his mother's ward; but the usual rule applies that he must avoid marrying any close relative of his mother, e.g. custom would not allow him to marry a maternal cousin for at least three generations. There is an organized system of elopement with married women which is regarded as a legitimate form of marriage, the parents of the woman being usually privy to the elopement, and entitled to receive a bride-price. The first husband (as among the Katab, etc.) has no redress. Wives may not, however, be abducted from men of the same town as the abductor, i.e. a man of Kwoi may not abduct the wife of another man of Kwoi, but he may abduct the wife of a man of the villages of Nok, Sambam, Chori, Kurmin Musa, etc., or of some neighbouring tribe. It is even permissible to abduct a girl who is betrothed to some other man. It was stated that the fiancée could not demand any compensation.

The commission of adultery was regarded as a moral offence entailing trouble not merely on the households of those concerned but also on the entire town. It had to be wiped out by sacrifice. It was customary before war for all the warriors to collect, and if any had committed adultery he had to make a confession. The guilty parties were forced to drink a mixture of beer, excrement (human and canine), certain leaves, and some of a woman's monthly discharge. This was believed to purge the "dirt" of the adultery.

I had no opportunity of making satisfactory investigations on the subject of emblems associated with the social groups. But it appeared that the leopard was specially associated with the Madaki's ward, which is known as "the ward of the leopard". No member of the ward may kill a leopard, but leopards killed by other wards are brought to them and eaten ceremonially (by the members of Madaki's ward). Thus if members of the

never contract a secondary marriage. (Polygyny is also practised among members of the Katab Group.)

(*b*) *Prohibition of Secondary Marriage Within the Local Group:* The local group (hamlet or village), whether or not its males form a single clearly defined kin-group (clan, sub-clan, or lineage), is invariably a group within which secondary marriage cannot be sought. Similarly, lineage and sub-clan always constitute such groups. In some cases, when the large-scale kin-group, the exogamous unit ("clan"), is large and comprises a large number of local groups (and lineages), secondary marriage within the exogamous unit may be enjoined, i.e., a man is encouraged by public opinion to take as secondary wife only the wife of a fellow clansman, the member of a different lineage and village, and of a different sub-clan. If the clan is very small, however, the whole clan may be designated the "wife-stealing" unit.

(*c*) *Inheritance of Grandfather's Wives:* As Meek remarks, such is "necessarily of rare occurrence," but appears to be permitted among all tribes of the Group. All save Ikulu recognize also inheritance of father's widows, and it may be that both junior and senior levirate are almost universal.

(v) *Religious Practices: Head-Hunting*

Connected apparently to some extent with secondary marriage is the "dodo" cult known among Katab proper, Kachichere, Kagoma, Kagoro, Kaje, and perhaps others of the Group as *obwai* (*abwai*). It appears to differ little in those communities for which descriptions of it are available; in many of its details, too, it seems to be virtually identical with the *dodo* cult of the Kadara of Kufana, Kajuru District, described by Smith, which may be related to the tradition of Kajuru-Kadara domination of part or all of the Katab area at some period in pre-Fulani times.

Head-hunting was widely practised among the Katab peoples, as among many of their neighbours, Aten, Irigwe, Chawai, and others. The taking of a head apparently gave a man the status of elder and was always the occasion of ritual: captured skulls were preserved. It seems that wars were not infrequent between and among members of the Group, but within the Group each member apparently respected the dead of certain other members (the Kagoro, for example, took Ataka and Kaje heads, but never Moroa or Katab proper), and there is every indication that the favoured game of all members was Fulani and Hausa.

ECONOMY[4a]

Occupations: Division of Labour

Katab are primarily farmers; the bulk of the farm work appears to be done by males,[5] though women, who may help with the planting and harvest, carrying the crops from the farm to the compound, maintain their own small garden plots at the back of their huts. Livestock (see below) is largely the property of women and is tended by children. Men keep bees(in hives in tall trees in the bush) and export, through the medium of Hausa traders, quantities of desiccated honey (resembling coke cinders) as far afield as Kano and Yerwa (Maiduguri). According to all observers, there are few crafts; women weave coarse wickerwork baskets and also the *oyam*, technically an article of considerable refinement; men produce checked or twilled palm-fibre rain-capes and basket-covers, and in recent years appear to have adopted the characteristically Ikulu mat industry (see below). The chief item of wood carving is the woman's head-board (it is not clear whether the *obwai* wears a mask of wood). A variety of musical instruments are produced, but there is

[4a] This section refers particularly to Katab of Zangon Katab District.

[5] Wielding the heavy spurred hoe, the effect of which in operation reminds one somehow of both the spade and the simple plough; see plate 5, p. 45 of *Tribal Studies*, II.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

According to Meek, the exogamous unit, or clan, appears usually to be composed of two parts, (i) those lineages claiming patrilineal descent from a single ancestor, the founder of the clan, and (ii) " adopted lineages " of known extraneous origin. No formal distinction between these parts appears to be made by the peoples themselves.

Since the time of Tremearne it has been persistently reported that " the Katab tribe " originated from the region of Karigi. Meek's account of the traditions of the clans, sub-clans and lineages shows that the matter is by no means as simple as that. If, as Meek reports, the Katab themselves hold that the clans and sub-clans bear the names of their founders (which the lineages do not invariably: see below), Shokwa was aboriginal in present-day Katab territory, emerging (with his wife) from the Kaduna River; Aku, though a late-comer, was somehow in the beginning affiliated with Shokwa, and was like him aboriginal; Agbat was clearly the ancestor of Kwak (Gbar—or Agbat or Baht—Kokwak) and Kpaisa (Faisa), but Nje was a " stranger " adopted into the clan, his descendants forming a separate sub-clan, the origins of neither Agbat (Karigi, according to Brice-Smith) nor Nje being made clear; Minyam, similarly of unstated origin (Karigi?), was the ancestor of Fakan and Aswen (Ashwam). (See also below.)

A number of the lineages of the various clans and sub-clans, as already indicated, are apparently of foreign, and comparatively recent, origin. Among the lineages of Aswen sub-clan, Awai (cf. Awai clan of Kurama), Kofo (stated to be " Kagoro of Kabanchan "), and Magemmi or Magamiya (Ikulu) are adopted; Nje, said to be an adopted sub-clan, has a lineage, Jaba, which suggests that Nje has carried the process further, to absorb immigrants of the Jaba tribe, and Asalio lineage of Aku clan may indicate a Moroa (Asolio in the vernacular) origin; similarly, Kamantan lineage of Shokwa clan, clearly stated to be adopted, doubtless derives from the tribe of the same name.[18] It is perhaps this process of " adoption " which can be seen at work when, though marriage is normally patrilocal, married daughters—sisters—return to their parental compound " with their husbands and children who have for various reasons decided to abandon their own group." When it is recalled that there is considerable intermarriage (though largely of the secondary sort) between the various members of the Katab Group, it would appear that the process aims towards an eventual amalgamation of Ikulu, Kachichere and Kamantan tribes with the Katab; and perhaps ultimately of the Kaje, if not of the more closely related tribes of neighbouring Districts.

In Agbat and Minyam, by far the largest clans, the exogamous unit forms also a unit within which secondary marriage is permitted or even preferred: the " sub-clans " of Agbat and Minyam, however, are units within which secondary marriage is prohibited.[19] Members of the small Aku and Shokwa clans seek both primary and secondary wives outside their respective units. The largest sub-divisions of Aku and Shokwa are, of course, lineages, into which all the sub-clans of Agbat and Minyam, apparently with the exception of Kpaisa, are also divided.[20]

[18] Similarly, according to Smith, Katab immigrants were absorbed by Kagoro perhaps a century ago, giving rise to the community's distinctive moiety-system, described farther below; and Reynolds reports the assimilation of Katab by Kaje at roughly the same time.

[19] A member of Agbat (Minyam) may take as secondary wife the wife of a member of Aku or Shokwa clans (within the limits imposed by clan exogamy), but he is prohibited from taking the wife of a member of the other large clan, Minyam (Agbat). Apart from the consideration that any serious friction between these two powerful bodies might well disrupt the tribe, it seems likely that most of the primary wives of Agbat men will, owing to the size of that clan, of necessity be Minyam women, and probably a clear majority of Minyam men take Agbat wives primarily, which would tend to restrict secondary marriage between the two; Katab express the prohibition in terms of mother-in-law avoidance.

[20] Meek leaves some doubt as to whether the sub-clan is a descent group of the type termed a maximal lineage, or a clan, and whether his clans—in the case of Agbat and Minyam at least—are basically phratries, Nje being an intrusive element. Certainly it is by no means clear whether the groups here termed lineages are anything like comparable units in the various clans. See Meek's detailed analysis of Kibori village.

According to Meek, Katab have adopted, apparently purely as a recreation, the *sharo* (*sharau, shado*, etc.) form of initiation ordeal, practised by some of the local Fulani "tribes," among whom, though it is not universally practised, the activity is to all appearances psycho-pathological in character, as it is carried out at the present time. The Katab, however, bind their bodies with cloth as protection against the cane-blows by their fellow-contestants, and *chadong gane*—as it is called in the vernacular—becomes a game of tag.

The taking of heads in war does not appear to have been regarded as a necessary condition to the status of adulthood, though an adult's status was enhanced by success in battle. (See also *Religious Beliefs and Practices*, below.)

Marriage

In the case of primary marriage, a girl may be engaged at birth, but normally she is sought in marriage when she is a few years old, through the father's brother or "a male paternal cousin," and "is formally betrothed at the age of seven." Payment and/or service are as follows: (1) four fowls to girl's father; (2) one day's labour, aided by suitor's friends, annually on farm of girl's father (or cash in lieu of service); (3) 2,000 cowries or their equivalent to the girl's father, who keeps the major part for himself and distributes the balance among his male relatives, i.e., brothers and paternal cousins; (4) presumably at the time of the actual wedding, an additional 20,000 cowries to the father (who keeps two-thirds for his use, distributing the balance among his relatives);[35] (5) before the final rites, a goat to the girl's mother, three fowls to the father, and 100 cowries to her maternal grandfather.[36] A date is then set by the girl's father for the wedding, which takes the form of capture, convincingly carried out, according to Meek: friends of the suitor seize the girl and leave her in the hut of a relative of the suitor, where she remains for three nights; on the fourth night, the marriage is consummated in the hut of her mother-in-law, where she lives until given her own hut at the end of the first year.

According to Meek, "many Katab girls" are married before puberty. Primary marriages always take place during the dry season (October-March), except in the rare case of an unseasonable pregnancy, when "the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé." Premarital intercourse is said to be unusual because lineages (and clans) are localized.

As regards secondary marriage, a man may not contract a union with a married woman who is (*a*) a member of his own clan, (*b*) a "close" relation of his mother (that is, presumably, a member of his mother's lineage), (*c*) a member of a primary wife's parental household (it is not clear whether affines of his primary wife are included in this prohibition, or her sisters and cousins who have married out of the household), (*d*) the wife of a member of his own kindred, or (*e*) the wife of a fellow-villager. As has already been pointed out, members of Minyam and Agbat clans are enjoined to seek secondary wives among the wives of fellow-clansmen, within the limits indicated here; members of Aku and Shokwa clans, on the contrary, extend the prohibition described at (*d*), above, to the wives of fellow-clansmen, and take their secondary wives from the men of Minyam and Agbat. According to Meek, secondary marriage-payments amount to 15 shillings cash and one goat (1931); when secondary wives are obtained from neighbouring tribes, marriage-payments commonly follow, rather than precede, "elopement."

[35] In the same paragraph Meek stresses inexplicably that "the father's brother . . . receives the bride-price, part of which only he hands on to the parents of the girl."

[36] The cowrie was discontinued as a medium of exchange in 1919, at *c.* 2,400–3,000 = one shilling, in Zaria City. Whether it is, or was at the time of Meek's investigation, still actually used in marriage negotiations is not clear, at least to the complete exclusion of legal tender. Re marriage payments Meek notes, ". . . members of the same sub-clan frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It it is not uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift."

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kachichere

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

582 Meek has analysed the organization of Kachichere Arna. Where secondary marriage is concerned, the Village-area as a whole functions with relation to the Katab tribe much as the smaller Katab clans, Aku and Shokwa, with their fellows; that is, it constitutes the local unit within which its members may not seek secondary wives. Secondary marriages are, however, contracted with "wives obtained from neighbouring tribes," but whether also from Aticherak of Lungu is not known. As regards primary marriage, Aticherak form what appears to be virtually an endogamous community; at Kachichere Arna there are four exogamous units,[41] Ne-Tabin, Ne-Chobiam, Ne-Tiet, and Iningwa-Tiap,[42] those at Lungu are given by Reynolds as Alegahk, Tsoniata, Shoviam (=Chobiam), and Uwatiyap (=Iningwa-Tiap).[43] Primary marriage laws "closely resemble those of the Katab," according to Meek. As among Katab, the widows of a father or grandfather—real or classificatory—are heritable. Meek notes, however, that "every Kachichere child. . . has to be redeemed from the mother's family by a graduated scale of payments. . ." The exogamous units are not totemic; all Aticherak of Kachichere Arna, however, "respect" the crocodile and leopard.

613 622 793 The civil head of Kachichere Arna Village-area (responsible, like the Katab Village-area heads, directly to the Katuka at Zangon Katab) is a member of Ne-Tabin, and "his 'madaiki' or second-in-command" (duties not indicated) of Ne-Chobiam.[44] Each lineage has its own head (*magajin elenowum*), those of Ne-Tabin and Ne-Chobiam being apparently separate from Village-area head and Madaiki, but for the whole community there is a single *obwai* priest and a single rain-maker, *atun yevwo*.[45] At Lungu, the connections of the hamlet head are not entirely clear; he is, of course, subordinate to the Atsam head of Pari Village-area. The hamlet council, according to Reynolds, consists of the hamlet head and the heads of each group and sub-group of the village.

114 There is no information about the extensive Kachichere community in Jema'a District, of which the obscure Numana peoples, about whom little more than the names and populations of their villages is known, may or may not be part. The names of the scattered hamlets already listed may be to some extent indicative of the socio-political organization: Ungwar Magaji and Ungwar Madaki both probably refer to actual civil titles, but there is no indication to which of the older villages they may appertain, and the significance of the other names is unknown.

101 197 In conclusion, it may be noted that Aticherak of both Kachichere Arna and Lungu appear outwardly to be virtually indistinguishable from their Katab neighbours.[46] Also, according to Meek, the local dialect varies only slightly from standard Katab.

[41] These appear to be lineages since, according to Meek, "the members of each believe themselves to be blood relatives, and . . . they appear to be able to trace their ancestry genealogically back to a common forefather. . . ."

[42] The meaning of these (or even the significance of the hyphens) is not stated by Meek. -Tiap, it will be noted, resembles the name the Katab give themselves, *Atyap*.

[43] According to Drummond-Hay (whose information appears to be supported by Reynolds' notes) other Aticherak are located at a village or hamlet, Kingwarang (Dutsin Kimbarang, according to Reynolds) but nothing appears to be known of its present size or structure, so that its population may have been included by Reynolds in his count of the inhabitants of Lungu.

[44] The chief of Kachichere Arna possesses a sword believed by Meek to be of Kajuru origin. The only other information relating to the chieftaincy is Meek's statement that a chief, on his appointment (by whom?), goes "into seclusion for seven days beginning on a Sunday."

[45] Meaning not recorded, but cf. distinctive title of Numana priest-chiefs, *Itum*.

[46] Aticherak, at least those of Lungu, profess a closer tie with Atsam; claiming voluntarily to have entered Chawai territory; having earlier professed a vital link with Kajuru, they resisted a move by Administration in 1931–2 to place them under the Kajuru hamlet-head, in favour of remaining under the Village-area head of Pari. Yet men of Chawai refuse to take Aticherak wives, since, according to various informants, Aticherak women wear lip-plugs! Meek notes that men of Kachichere Arna take secondary wives from neighbouring tribes, but does not specify whether Atsam is among these.

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Ikulu

IKULU

GENERAL: NOMENCLATURE: POPULATION: LOCATION: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Little information is available concerning the people generally termed Ikulu or Ikolu in the literature.[47] According to Brice-Smith, they call themselves *Ankulu*: the meaning of this name is not indicated.

The latest population figures available for Zaria Province as a whole (N.A. Census of 1948–9) indicate that the Ikulu tribe is found exclusively in Zangon Katab District, where they number 5,961: the bulk of these are found in the northern quarter of the District, north of the main centres of Kaje and Katab concentration, but their hamlets and farms are reported to be intermingled with farms of Kaje (and Katab) pioneers pushing forward out of the more thickly settled areas to the south, and those of Kamantan, to the west. Predominantly Ikulu Village-areas are (figures returned *c.* 1948): Anchuna, 1,596; Kamurun Ikulu, 2,956; Padan (=Fadan) Ikulu, 1,042; total, 5,594. Besides Ikulu in the north, however, there are a number of communities to the south and east of the District among Katab, Atsam, and others: many of these appear to have been absorbed by the local society, but in some cases (e.g., Kwiambana Ikulu, in Pari Village-area of Chawai) they appear to have preserved their identity; it is not known which if any of these emigrant Ikulu are included in the 1948–9 total for the District (and Province).[48]

Before the Ikulu of Kachia District were transferred to Zangon Katab, *c.* 1925, the three Ikulu Village-areas named above appear already to have emerged as distinct entities, with recognized heads; further, they appear to have simply absorbed the Ikulu hamlets which came to the District from Kachia. The possibility that Kamuru may occupy the position of *primus inter pares* is discussed below. It should be noted that the Ikulu Village-area heads do not administer the immigrant Kaje among them, according to Reynolds: these Kaje are still dependent on their parent villages in the south, through which they continue to pay their taxes.

Meek states (in MS. notes) that the Ikulu are sub-divided into four "wife-stealing" units[49] distributed among the villages—which are basically exogamous units (cf. Kaje, below)—as follows:

"Wife-stealing" units	*Villages*
Ekawranyi	Dissin Ungvya Unduru Ikum
Unchera	?
Ampak	Balto Ansong Lisum
Ayinti	Kunyekuni Kito

Of the villages named, only Balto can be tentatively identified as Bato, in the immediate vicinity of Fadan Ikulu. It may well be that the villages of each "wife-stealing" unit are interspersed among those of the remainder, but it is not

[47] In a report, "Ethnographical notes on Wurkun District, Adamawa Province," Meek refers to Ikulu as "the Ba-Kulu of Zaria Province": in *Tribal Studies* he notes that "the Kaje . . . call . . . the Ikulu the Bakulu," whence, apparently, he has adopted the name.

[48] Kwiambana Ikulu in 1950 had a total population of 161; adult males, 35. See also below.

[49] Presumably units outside of which secondary wives must be sought, though the term appears to be used in both inclusive and exclusive senses. Meek notes also that a man does not seek a secondary wife in a village from which he has taken a primary wife: it is not clear from this whether the "wife-stealing" unit is endogamous, perhaps, so far as primary marriage is concerned.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Ikulu
Kamantan

According to Temple, "a large proportion of the Ikolu are blacksmiths," which would seem to differentiate them from Katab, who have by all accounts no smiths at all, and apparently also from Kadara, among whom smiths are not numerous. It will be recalled, however, that the chiefs of Kajuru appear to have had some special connection with the smiths of Kachichere.

Kamantan

General: Nomenclature: Population: Location: Social Organization

Available information relating to Kamantan (Kamantam) parallels closely the brief description given of Ikulu.

According to Meek, their name for themselves is Angan (sing. Zamangan): the origin and meaning of the name are not indicated.

The Zaria N.A. Census of 1948–9 returns 3,634 Kamantan for Zangon Katab District and the Province. The Resident of Zaria's list of Village-areas, undated, (*c.* 1948), shows the population of Padan (Fadan) Kamantan, the single predominantly Kamantan Village-area, to be 3,343."

The essential feature of Angan social organization, judging from Meek's notes, seems to be that "people who are related give their daughters in marriage more readily than they would give them to strangers; but cousins may not marry." Presumably "cousins" here refers to collateral relatives whose genealogical relationship is recognized, and the rule implies that the group of kinsmen whose relation to Ego can be traced genealogically constitute Ego's exogamous units. This system certainly differs radically from the normal Katab (but cf. Srubu, p. 63 above, where marriage rules appear to be comparable). Meek partially analyses the Kamantan tribe as follows:

"Wife-stealing" units	*Villages*	*Comments*
(1)	Kagal	2 related exogamous sections
	Ashin (Kaku)	2 non-related exogamous sections
(2)	Kaban	
	Kangun	
(3)	Agan [sic] (Fadan Kamantan)	Believed related
	Balil	
	Lena	
(4)	Yangan	
	Shokwan	

Only the first village named for each "wife-stealing" unit can be located on maps of the area. It would not be surprising if the various parts of Angan society were disparate, but more information is needed before further comment can be made.

The Kamantan tribe, comprising a single Village-area, is the only tribe of the Katab Group so far described which has, in effect, a tribal chief. The office is nowhere discussed, though Meek notes that the chief has a ritual sword (the origin of which is not stated).

observer to have described the Katab *obwai*-hut as "tall" (Meek notes that the hut is round in contrast to the usual style of building): in the Kadara area, on the other hand, many investigators have been struck by the unusual height of the "tsafi huts" and the extreme pitch of their conical thatched roofs. It has already been noted that the Katab *obwai* cult resembles in many respects the Kadara *dodo*-cult, and it seems possible that Ikulu, even if not a branch of Kadara, may have acted as a medium for the diffusion of the Kadara *dodo*-cult over the whole of the Katab area. Diffusion from the west seems, on the basis of the very scanty information available, more likely only because the *dodo*-cult is completely absent from a wide area of the High Plateau, whence Kagoro—who practise *obwai*—seem to have come, on the east. The chief of Ankuwa interviewed by Meek recognized the essential unity of the Kadara, Kaje, Srubu, and Ikulu *dodo*-cults.

[a] The difference is probably accounted for by inaccurate returns.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
MOROA
ATAKA

	Population (1931)
Babban Gida (Agbwat) [101]	184
Biniki (Beniki)	253
Bungyel (Bungen)	46
Bwandom (Bandong)	515
Chambano (Chonbano)	194
Chori	253
Gizagwai (Kisagwai)	354
Kajim	68
Mahuta	345
Manchok	605
Randiyan (Nandiyam)	274
Unguwar Gora (Gora)	203
Zangam	375
Zankan	488
Total	4,157

Randiyan, according to Meek, is mixed Katab and Asolio: so far as can be determined, however, the latter predominate.

Kaura (population 756 in 1931) is, as already indicated, Katab. Another six villages, Adu (53), Anturum (363), Ashim (178), Asu (287), Mafan (638), and Tachira (243), [102] totalling 1,862, may account for the remainder of Asolio in the district in 1931 (cf. "tribal" figure, 4,683, returned by the Census of 1931), but the "tribal" affiliations of the different villages cannot in fact be stated.

As already noted, two hamlets of the Pari (Fari) Village-Area of Zangon Katab District are Asolio; Unguwar Gaya or Kayya (population 204 in 1950, according to Reynolds) and Chori (109).

No Ataka villages in Moroa District are anywhere specified by name. It can only be deduced from the records cited above that some 1,500 to 2,000 in the District were distributed among a maximum of five villages, in 1931, with an average population of from 300 to 400. In Kagoro District, Ataka constitute a single Village-area. In Jema'a District, Plateau Province, Mathews found five villages or hamlets, and stated: "Each village has its own headman (*agwam*) and priest (*agwam obwai*). There is no cohesion and no central authority."

Presumably each village dealt directly with the Moslem District Head. In 1950, eight Ataka villages were recognized by Administration in Jema'a: Akwat, Assob, Barshi, Biyok, Katsak, Manyi, Sakiyo, Tajan Kasa, and Ungwar Atakar. Attempts were then being made to induce the formation of something like an Ataka "tribal council," with the hope that such, if it emerged, might ultimately federate with a similar council of Kagoro in the District.

Meek's analysis of the social structure of Moroa District is fragmentary, but it appears to correspond in some detail to that outlined farther above for Kagoro, the proper names of the various units being distinctive, however. Marriage practices differ only in that girls are given in primary marriage twice a year, at the beginning of the rainy season, and again at the ripening of the millet,[103] when a form of capture, with the connivance of the girl's parents and relatives, is customary. Meek notes also that there is free intermarriage between the Asolio and those sections of the Moroa population which belong to other tribes, taking the form of primary marriages or elopment with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permitted among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

The chief priest, according to Meek, is a member of the senior Moroa clan, the Ye-Lutsi, which is dispersed among the villages of Bungyel, Chambano, Chori,

[101] Names used by Meek, when they differ from those given in the Village Directory, are placed in parentheses.

[102] Adu is rendered Abu on the map accompanying the Gazetteer of Plateau Province (Ames); Mafan appears as Mafam.

[103] Meek does not specify the date, but millet harvest in Moroa District takes place in November and December.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

or maximal lineage, members recognize a direct descendant of their common ancestor as their head (*gado kapiyi*, in Hausa, Magajin gada). His direct interest within the major lineage is more intense than that of the *atiyinhwap* in the maximal lineage. After the *gado kapiyi* has beaten the ground with his stick no one in the major lineage would dare to disobey. Again, in the minor lineage, composed of a number of extended families, the head is *atiyinswoi*, "father of the cluster." Although the position is usually hereditary, the son or blood-brother being preferred, it may be held by the senior elder of the minor lineage.[112] His powers are more limited than those of the *gado kapiyi*, but if he beats the ground with his right hand no one of the minor lineage would dare to disobey. All game killed by members of the lineage must be brought to him for distribution. The head of the extended family (minimal lineage) is *atiyikariyi*, "father of the compound."

According to Reynolds, "the *atiyinhwap* of the Baiduang tribal section is recognized as the final authority in affairs affecting the welfare of the tribe. This authority was not used to interfere in affairs of a maximal lineage other than his own, and he had no political authority," which is to say that there was no formal tribal government. He might, however, call together all *atiyinhwap* "to perform rites for the benefit of the whole tribe," an expedient to which, apparently, he has not resorted since the advent of British Administration.

Before the British, only two civil titles were recognized by Kaje villages, *agwam*, the name given by Kaje to the Fulani tribute collectors, and *madaki*, who was chosen by the *agwam* whom he served as "helper." The *agwam* were first chosen by the *atiyinhwap*, but later, when their number increased and where the major lineage was the political unit, the *gado kapiyi* would make the selection.

Much the same procedure seems in the matter of civil headships to have been followed in the early years of British Administration, but it is suggested that these titles have by now become in effect hereditary in certain lesser lineages. In recent years a few ritual leaders have shown some interest in the possibility of obtaining civil titles either for themselves or for close relatives.

Traditions

According to Reynolds, Baranza (the founding ancestor) and his relatives left Miango[113] because of a famine. They came down from the hills and after spending a short time with the Chawai eventually settled at Kurmin Bi, a hamlet of Zonkwa Village-area. There, according to Reynolds' informants, Kaje, or Kurmin Bi, was born. In Reynolds' opinion they do not mean that a son was born to Baranza, but rather that the tribe's development stems from Baranza's taking up residence with his family at this place. Nevertheless the ancestors of the Kaje clans are termed by present-day Kaje the grandsons of Baranza, hence, presumably, the sons of Kaje (Kurmin Bi). These grandsons were Sokwap, Kaduan, Dando, Atun and, according to members of Baintsok section, a fifth, Atom, whom Baintsok claim as their ancestor. Sokwap was the first to break away from Kurmin Bi and he settled on the Kamuru (Kaje) hills. He was followed by Dando and then Kaduan. Finally, so the Baintsok hold, Atom broke away and went to Tsofon Gida. Atun remained at Kurmin Bi. The sixth "tribal section," is composed entirely of assimilated alien lineages. A summary of Reynolds' analysis of the various sections follows.

Baiduang: men of Duang (a stream): It appears that the six constituent major lineages of Baiduang are organized as a single maximal lineage. Traditionally Baiduang is said to have been exogamous; nowadays the exogamous unit is a local association of major lineages. Formerly Baiduang was also a unit as regards secondary marriage, but in recent years young men of each of the two Village-

[112] In function, Reynolds states that the present-day hamlet-head is most nearly the equivalent of the old *agwam*. As already mentioned, he fails to indicate the actual title of the hamlet-head under British Administration.

[113] An Irigwe (tribe) Village-area, Birom Tribal Area (District), Jos Division, Plateau Province. See map.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

areas, Zonkwa and Zuturung, are reported to have contracted secondary marriages with wives of men in the other. 613

Baimbin: men of the drum: The six major lineages appear to be exogamous units at present: it is perhaps noteworthy that in Suryan Village-area only Kanakada is a composite hamlet, its residents divided between two major lineages. Baimbin section, that is, Suryan Village-area, is the " wife-stealing " unit. 614 582

Bainturung: settlers: Bainturung, which appears to be completely alien in origin, is composed of two maximal lineages, Amabat and Farman, with no tradition of kinship apart from extensive intermarriage. Originally the maximal lineages were the exogamous units, now the major lineages. Bainturung (Gidan Jatau Village-area) is the " wife-stealing " unit. The post of Village-area head is held by Farman.

Baintsok: men of the little hill: Four of the six major lineages are to be found in Fadan Kaje Village-area, one predominating in each of the three constituent hamlets, and one divided between two of them. The remaining two are located in Fadiya Village-area, where in general the minor lineage corresponds to the hamlet. As regards the *atiyinhwap*, the two Village-areas constitute a single unit. In Fadan Kaje the head of the Village-area is chosen from a relatively senior minor lineage of the same major lineage as the *atiyinhwap;* in Fadiya from a junior minor lineage of the single Kaje lineage there (as opposed to the aboriginal, adopted lineage, at Kahon, in that Village-area).

Banewhan: men of the mountains: This is the most complex section, being composed of a number of wholly disparate units, of origins apparently as varied as those of the component parts of any other section of the tribe. Banehwan has two maximal lineages, Sokwap, restricted to the Kamuru Village-area (Kamurun Kaje); and Potwak, distributed among Marsa, Gidan Tagwai, and Afana Village-areas. Minor lineages appear to be localized; each major lineage within the section generally constitutes an exogamous unit. Each of the four Village-areas constitutes a separate " wife-stealing " unit.

Batadon: men of tadon: Batadon consists of eight component lineages. In general, each major lineage forms a single hamlet. Reynolds notes as apparently exceptional that *atiyinhwap* and *gado abwai* (*obwai* priest) are held by the same person. The major lineage is the exogamous unit here, as elsewhere. Secondary marriage units are not so clear-cut, indicating that perhaps the hamlet is in process of emerging as the " wife-stealing " unit.

It will be seen from the above accounts that primary marriage rules and the structure of sections would permit of sectional endogamy, whereas in a majority of cases secondary wives must be sought outside the section. Such wives may quite frequently be taken from neighbouring tribes (see also below). In war, Kaje differentiated between Kaje, Kagoma, Jaba of Kwoi, and Ikulu on the one hand and Kagoro, Kamantan, Katab, and Jaba of Kachia on the other. When war was resorted to a single minor lineage on both sides refrained from fighting, and in the end joined together to negotiate a settlement. 648

Totemism

According to Meek, there is apparently a tendency for the Village-area exogamous group to identify itself with a certain animal, but present-day evidence does not support this. Reynolds found persons admitting to " taboos " on animal species, but taboos inherited through the mother and not the father. It is therefore possible for all uterine members of a compound to have the same taboo, and the mother's female children give this taboo to their children.[114] 621 825

[114] Reynolds found similar matrilineal totemic groupings among Chawai, reported in *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern Nigeria.*

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Jaba

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY

631 At the time of the transfer of Jaba District from Jema'a Division to Zaria Province, in 1934, it was stated that the District comprised "27 villages[135] whose heads are directly responsible to the Pop Ham [chief of Jaba]," a situation comparable to that seen in Moroa; a current list of Village-areas was not accessible in Zaria, but various reports suggest the possibility that a smaller number has emerged in recent years as a result of reorganization.

621 According to Meek, the village constitutes the group within which a man may not seek a secondary wife. He indicates that there are further administrative and social sub-divisions, "wards" (=hamlets? cf. Kagoro, farther above), these being 582 exogamous as well as local groupings; but Cole stresses the fact that "kindreds" (that is, kinship groupings of the largest scale) are dispersed among two or more villages (perhaps sometimes not even contiguous), as a general rule.

621 A report made in 1933 by Barnicot states that in Kachia District Jaba are divided into five "clans" and "six Village-areas." In 1949 Cole gives five Village-areas, each equated with a "kindred." What order of kinship grouping the hamlet constitutes in Kachia is not known.

In Kagarko District, Jaba are found in three Village-areas dominated by other tribal groups; in Yeskwa they are settled with Yeskwa in two Village-areas. In Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate (Plateau Province), Kano, Kirti, and Kusan are currently identified by Administration as Jaba; they are separated from Jaba District of Zaria by Kagoma tribal settlement, and it is noteworthy that until 1934, at least, and possibly even more recently, these same villages were labelled Kagoma by all investigators.

692 A Jaba tribal court was organized in Jaba District in 1935, and appears to have been designed to serve the entire Jaba community of Zaria Province, both in and out of the Emirate; but data from Kachia District indicate that Jaba there may have recourse to the local Native Court (Kadara-Kuturmi), on which elders representing all clans of Kachia Jaba sit. On the other hand, decisions taken in Jema'a Emirate with respect to Jaba there are known to have been reversed in conformity with advice given by Pop Ham.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth

775 According to Temple, "the Jaba believe that the souls of the dead can enter the womb of a living woman and be reborn" (but see also *Religious Beliefs*, below).
844 At birth the mother and child are bathed in cold water. On the fourth day the child
553 is taken from its mother's hut and named (by the father if a boy, the mother if a girl) in the presence of the women of the compound. Twins, however, are not named till the seventh day, when elders of the village—and so, presumably, of the large-scale kinship unit—meet to perform the ceremony and partake of a feast provided by the father.

584 Temple states that a girl is betrothed at birth, claimed by right by the first eligible man to see her (cf. Katab and Kaje).

Initiation

[304] It is not stated whether circumcision is in fact a practice of Jaba: Meek states
881 only that "initiation rites . . . have no connection with circumcision." Initiation of boys takes place between their ninth and eleventh years. A boy's maternal uncle acts as his sponsor, providing "the preliminary fee of one chicken": Meek fails to indicate, however, whether initiation in effect unites the tribe, at Kwoi, perhaps, or

[135] A total of 27 villages in the District is listed in the Village Directory of the 1931 Census; three of these are recognized by Administration as Lungu. The largest are: Chori (2,219), Kwai (Kwoi) (3,700), Nok (1,080), Samban Gida (1,043).

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38 Kagoro

When they are about ten years old boys are initiated in these mysteries. They are first shaved, greased and beaten, and are then taken to the sacred grove, but they may not yet drink with the men. They leave the grove and dance all night, and dancing and drinking goes on for another seven days, when they return to their houses, but they may not speak to a woman till another seven days have elapsed. 852

They do not marry until they are sixteen or eighteen years of age, their brides being three or four years younger. The procedure is for the suitor to give the girl's father from four to ten thousand cowries when he proposes. If he is accepted he adds one hoe, one goat, one dog and the flesh of another goat to the gift—an average example which varies according to the wealth of the contracting parties. Beer is prepared by his people, and taken on the wedding day to the bride's house, where drinking goes on for from one to ten days. On the first day the mother takes her daughter to the young man's house for a brief visit, and receives a complimentary present of 2,000 cowries or a hoe—later he comes to her house—and on the second day he takes his wife to his own house where she remains. There is intermarriage between certain tribes, *i.e.*, the Attakka, Moroa, Kaje and Katab, but a Kagoro man will prefer a maiden of his own or of the Attakka tribe, because the others refuse to clear grass for the farms. A virgin may only marry during the wet season, after the seed has been sown. At the end of the millet farming she puts on her married woman's costume and her husband celebrates the occasion by killing a dog and eating its head, liver, entrails and legs, while he gives the neck to those that helped him in courtship, and the remainder to his father-in-law. The blood of slaughtered beasts is always eaten, cooked with fat. If the wife is considered satisfactory her husband gives her mother another present. A girl has the right of refusal and can obtain a divorce, subject to her father's consent, for he retains the legal power to persuade her to go back to her husband, to leave him, or to marry her to someone else. He also has the right of possession over her children, unless her husband redeems them by payment of three goats each. This practice has been put down by the British Government. 582 585 591 252 586

Children are suckled for two or three years. Boys are named by their father and are circumcised, a very old custom. If a child proves unsound before it is about four years old, or sometimes later, it is thought to be a snake and may be thrown into water. Twins are considered very lucky. 862 304 553 845 847

A man's first wife has authority over subsequent wives and may even beat them, a right so fully recognised that, if these latter forget themselves so far as to retaliate, their parents give her beer. The women all eat together, helping themselves with their right hands, for men alone are allowed the use of spoons. 595 264

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

342 are thatched, sloping up at the back to an angle of forty-five
[768] degrees. A house is not re-occupied after the death of either of its owner or of his wife.

596 The family system is patriarchal, and the head of a house has absolute jurisdiction over its members.

769 They worship their ancestors and observe various fetish.
799 The chief priest lives at Kurmin Bi, and the second one to him
827 at Bunkua, but each group shares a common place of worship. Muhammadanism is penetrating amongst them. They are head-hunters.

582 A girl is betrothed at the age of seven, when the suitor gives
584 her father three chickens and 1s. Later on he again gives a hoe, a goat and 10s.; and on the wedding day, when she is about ten years old, pays a final contribution of four chickens.

583 A bag of cowries and two hoes are also an ordinary dower.

A form of capture of the bride is sometimes gone through, but the girl cannot be detained against her will, and the groom returns to give her father the customary presents. Ordinarily her parents take the bride to the groom's house, where he cuts up a goat and distributes its flesh amongst his guests, who then retire. The bride is not allowed the right of refusal, but no steps are taken against her if she leaves her husband. The man to whom she goes pays a further dowry to her parents.

[586] Marriage can be terminated on the repayment of all moneys given.

582 Consanguinity is an absolute bar. If a woman has already had a child, one horse is the price paid for her. Her first three

[436] children belong to her father, but can be redeemed by their own father for a bag of cowries and two goats each. Children are an acknowledged currency, a child of four years old does not command more than one goat.

846 A mother and her new-born child are washed in cold water
553 on the day of its birth. On the fourth day the mother takes her infant outside the house, where it is named in the presence of the women of the household. The father names a boy, the

[845] mother a girl, but the Elders of the village perform that function in the case of twins. They assemble for the purpose on the seventh day and partake of a feast, for which the father provides a goat and beer.

764 When a death occurs, women wail and horns are blown. The corpse is wrapped in a new mat of plaited palm-leaves and men carry it to the grave amid shouting, blowing and drumming, while the women and children remain indoors. The chief priest wishes the spirit of the dead and the bereaved family well, and the body is lowered into a grave shaped like a prayer board, either close to the porch of the house if the deceased had had children, otherwise outside under the shelter of the wall. The corpse is laid on its back, a man's face being turned towards the